

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 165 139

CS 204 414

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TITLE The Development and Application of a "Cognitive Map" to the Daily Newspaper Newsroom.
PUB DATE Aug 78
NOTE 42p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (61st, Seattle, Washington, August 13-16, 1978)
EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.83 HC-\$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Behavior Patterns; *Cognitive Processes; *Employee Attitudes; Group Norms; Journalism; *Media Research; *Newspapers; *Organizational Communication; Personality Assessment; *Personal Values; Socialization; Social Values
IDENTIFIERS *Cognitive Maps

ABSTRACT

People's cognitive maps (images of self, beliefs and values, evaluations of relationships with individuals and groups) determine attitudes and behavior, provide the basis for communication, and determine in part their response to events. The cognitive map of an organization performs the same function for groups. Thirty-five newspaper employees from five daily newspapers in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts were interviewed to discover demographic characteristics and then were asked to do a Q-sort of 50 items related to personal values. Five distinct types showed up: the free spirit (a generally upbeat outlook on life, better educated, younger, less experienced); the grim upholder of the social order (orientation based on traditional values, slightly older than and less educated than the sample average); the disciplined independent (views work as a major element of life, efficient, self-controlled, has high-responsibility positions); the responsible hedonist (concerned with personal pleasure and comfort); and the benevolent moralist (has intense views about the propriety of the beliefs and actions of others). (TJ)

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Theory and Methodology Division

THE DEVELOPMENT AND APPLICATION OF A
'COGNITIVE MAP' TO THE DAILY
NEWSPAPER NEWSROOM

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Presented to the Theory and Methodology Division, Association for
Education in Journalism Annual Convention, Seattle, Washington, August,
1978.

ED165139

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The purpose of this paper is to introduce and illustrate the notion of the cognitive mapping of professionalized organizations or professionalized components of organizations. The term is explained and a methodology outlined. A cognitive map is then drawn of the daily newspaper organization, after which implications are discussed and future applications noted.

Wilbur Schramm, in Men, Messages, and Media: A Look At Human Communications, emphasized the importance of "cognitive maps" in determining the responses of individuals to stimuli. Communication shapes these maps, which then determine responses:

The main effect communications has on us is on the pictures in our heads, our cognitive maps of environment, our images of ourselves, the beliefs and values we have accepted and are prepared to defend, the evaluations we have made of our relationships to individuals and groups -- in other words, the translations of experience we have stored away in our central nervous systems.¹

The cognitive map helps to determine attitudes and behavior, mediating experience and providing the basis for communication. How a person perceives the world, the individual's cognitive mapping of reality, determines in part his or her response to events. It is the contention of the author that the cognitive map of the organization performs essentially the same functions for some collectivities of individuals. To a large extent, the functions for the collective of the cognitive map are similar to those claimed for the individual for the value structure (a cognitive map is, in a sense, the organizational value structure).²

Organizations, as collectivities of individuals, also generate maps of the internal and external environment; the communications shaped with the aid of these cognitive maps are a "primary means by which organizations select, control, and coordinate the activities of human/material resources internally (and) respond and adapt to the external environment."³ In other words, organizational behavior often is determined by the way in which communications are perceived and processed by the individuals working within the organization. There is a tradition in organizational theory and management of viewing the communication behaviors of persons within organizations as central to the problem-solving approaches of those organizations. How people react to and evaluate one another, how roles are perceived, and how goals are reached are central to the operations and products of organizations. Organizational theorist Chester Barnard noted that interpersonal communications within organizations occupies a central place in the literature of theory and management, claiming that this is so "because the structure, extensiveness, and scope of organizations are almost entirely determined by communication techniques."⁴ This collective perception and processing -- that of individuals within the organization -- has an effect on system response; hence the emphasis on the recruitment of individuals who 'fit' the goals of an organization by organizational analysts. One such analyst noted:

The importance of recruitment cannot be overstressed -- an organization is its people. Because most organizations probably attract people who fit its style and needs . . . final hiring decisions are often made from a narrow range of individuals. If an organization desires to increase its range of human inputs, it will have to seek out more sources of potential employees. Thus, organizations can stimulate organizational change and development through the staff it hires as well as through external and environmental factors.⁵

Researchers in organizational communication have acknowledged this dependency upon individuals. Richetto, in a review of the current organizational communication literature, noted that these researchers have shown that communication training in organizations -- which changes individual relationships and behavior patterns -- effects both intra- and inter-organizational relationships.⁶ The focus of these studies is on the individual, for an organization is its personnel and the personnel are the organization. And the individuals, working within the organization, determine its cognitive map.

But there are different degrees of employee effect on the organization and vice versa. The more normative an organization is -- Etzioni described such an organization as characterized by a high moral commitment of its members to the mission of the organization⁷ -- the more important becomes the cognitive map, for it is in this map that organizational expectations about proper values, attitudes, and motives reside. Caplow called this collection of expectations a normative system.⁸ Highly professionalized organizations, or highly professionalized organizations within organizations are characterized by their reliance upon this normative system. The commitment to work is emotional and psychological and it is this approach which helps to set them apart from other, less professionalized organizations.⁹ Abrahamson noted in The Professional in the Organization that it is this "sense of obligation to, and involvement with, one's work (that) characterizes professionals"¹⁰ Because of the highly emotional involvement of the more professionalized with work there must be some degree of congruence between professional and organizational expectations about values, attitudes, and motivations -- norms.

The cognitive map of these norms becomes especially important in an era when corporations, each an organization composed of a number of smaller organizations, are becoming increasingly normative with the trend toward widespread professionalization of occupations and professional employment within organizations.¹¹

Therefore, there is a growing need to identify and shape individual norms vis a vis organizational norms and goals. This need varies with the normativeness of the organization and its components. Every large organization has more and less normative organizations or divisions within it: an insurance company, for example, may have a high-management division, an interior design section, and a mailroom. Obviously, it is more important for high-management personnel to identify with the goals of the company than a stock clerk in the mailroom.

Within the daily newspaper the newsroom organization is highly normative; Hohenberg, Hulteng, and Merrill, to cite only a few, all write of the mission of the press.¹² Argyris, in a study of the organization and management of a large metropolitan daily, noted the importance of the collective mind-set, the cognitive map to the efficient functioning of this division of the newspaper. He termed this mind-set the "living system," the human environment within which management and editorial personnel live and work.¹³ The production of the daily newspaper is dependent in part upon the living system maintained by its employees, he wrote, who in turn depend upon the system for performance cues. The need to match the goals of the organizational component to those of the organization in a highly normative system like the modern newspaper was underlined by Stark in 1962.¹⁴ He concluded

"An Organizational Analysis of a Metropolitan Newspaper" by noting the negative impact on the product -- the daily newspaper -- produced by the difference between organizational and newsroom norms. Altheide and Rasmussen, in a study of two television newsrooms, established a direct link between the news producer as an organization and the product -- news.¹⁵ The pair, noting that individual reporters relied upon the organization for performance cues in the production of news, summarized the social significance of their study in this way: "Clarifying the good organizational reasons for bad news seems to be an essential step in generating more objective and adequate public information."¹⁶

Breed termed these cues, which are a function of the organization's cognitive map, "policy." "Policy" acts to bring individual norms into correspondence with organizational norms:

The first mechanism promoting conformity is the "socialization" of the staffer with regard to the norms of his job. When the new reporter starts work he is not told what policy is. Nor is he ever told Yet all but the newest staffers know what policy is. On being asked, they say they learn it by "osmosis." Sociologically, this means they become socialized and "learn the ropes" like a neophyte in any subculture. Basically, the learning of policy is a process by which the recruit discovers and internalizes the rights and obligations of his status and its norms and values.¹⁷

In this way "the individual is induced in some measure to conform willingly to the ways" of the newsroom organization.¹⁸ He becomes part of the group culture. In this sense, the newsroom shares with other highly normative groups the generation of cognitive maps to shape organizational behaviors; Harries-Jenkins pointed out that all occupations, through the interactions of social roles of individuals, generate a group culture which determines intra- and inter- organizational perceptions and behaviors. This culture is based upon "the basic and fundamental beliefs of the group."¹⁹

These basic and fundamental group or organizational beliefs and norms affect individuals in a number of ways: they play a large part in job satisfaction, have a hand in socialization, and often determine career patterns and structure. Samuelson, measuring job satisfaction in the newsroom, found that congruence of values between the journalist and the newsroom organization often determined whether a particular newspaper would provide "a vehicle for his aspirations and to which he can happily be loyal."²⁰ Stark detailed a newspaper on which a majority of newsroom personnel were unhappy with their jobs and the organization: the result, he wrote, was that "the paper has trouble maintaining a staff adequate for efficient competition, and in fact the organization appears to be falling well short of 'success.'"²¹ Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman found that organizational ideology and constraints were significantly related to the job satisfaction and perceived performance of a national probability sample of journalists.²² In addition, Bettinghaus and Preston found that communicator performance was related to cognitive structure,²³ while Schwartz found the professionalism of newspaper gatekeepers to be related to value structure.²⁴ As Clausen has pointed out, the learning of these values or norms is what socialization is all about.²⁵ And Dalton, Thompson, and Price have attempted to explain the effect of induced value change by the organization on career development.²⁶ In this way, the cognitive map plots the path of organizational socialization and allows for an "organizationally directed process that prepares and qualifies individuals to occupy organizational positions."²⁷ And, of course, regulates communication.

Can a cognitive map of the daily newspaper newsroom be generated? Can a way be found of mapping the pictures in the head -- to use the analogy of Schramm -- of the daily editorial organization? And, if so, what are the

implications for newsroom management and career development?

Methodology

The collective role and self-other perceptions of editorial workers within the newsroom serve to create an environment which, in turn, influences the behaviors of those same workers -- and neophytes -- within the newsroom organization. It does so by providing the individuals with, as they enter the newsroom and move from position to position, new self-images, involvements, values, and accomplishments.²⁸ This environment, the territory of which a cognitive map is to be drawn, is normative in nature, originates in the collectivity, and is primily responsible for infusing group participants with appropriate attitudes and sentiments²⁹ -- it determines organizational socialization -- and response to other organizations.

Because the cognitive map is based upon the self-perceptions of the persons who compose the organization, the Q-methodology of William Stephenson provides the philosophical basis for its measurement.³⁰ Q is a set of statistical, philosophy of science, and psychological principles upon which the measurement of self-perception is based. It provides for the objective study of the subjective; Kerlinger has noted that in a few other measurement procedures "do the objective and the subjective come so well together."³¹

The mapping is achieved through Q-sorting. This is a way of classifying respondents on the basis of their attitudes toward stimuli. In this case, the stimuli compose a set of 50 personal values sorted into a fixed distribution from most important to least important (see Figure 1). By using values as items in the sorting, the procedure takes into account one of the most significant contributions made by the sociology of occupations and professions: that an adequate explanation of an organizational situation cannot be given "until

account is taken of the individual's goals and orientations."³² As Rosenberg noted in Occupations and Values, "it is easy to imagine how the individual's fundamental feelings about human nature might influence his behavior in that area."³³ An organization, then, must be understood in terms of the persons within it. Q-sorting generates types of the sort that Grey claimed may "be used to strive toward higher levels of generalization and theoretical development by helping to categorize the various personal and social forces at work on the newsman."³⁴

Figure 1 About Here

According to Rokeach, values are basic to the "fundamental feelings" -- as Rosenberg termed them -- of humans, to their actions, motivations, and attitudes. Each values item used in the sort is defined as "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence."³⁵ The value items account for both actions and goals, for newspaper policy -- indeed, all organizational policy -- takes into account both preferable modes of operation and goals worth striving for. Rokeach divides values into terminal and instrumental categories. The former refers to "beliefs concerning desirable modes of conduct" while the latter refers to "desirable end-states of existence."³⁶ The two are not mutually exclusive:

What can be said about the relations between instrumental and terminal values? At this stage of theoretical thinking, it is safest to assume that they represent two separate yet functionally interconnected systems, wherein all the values concerning modes of behavior are instrumental to the attainment of all the values concerning end-states. This instrumentality is not necessarily a consciously perceived instrumentality, and there is not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence between any one instrumental value and any one terminal value. One mode of behavior may be instrumental to the attainment of several terminal values; several modes may be instrumental to the attainment of one terminal value.³⁷

The sort is composed of the 36 items in the Rokeach value inventory³⁸ and an additional 14 near-synonyms to provide an adequate Q-sample.³⁹ The values appeared on the Q-sort cards with defining phrases: e.g., "SALVATION . . . saved, eternal life," "WISDOM . . . a mature understanding of life," or "NATIONAL SECURITY . . . protection from attack." Once sorted and factored, the value Q-arrays may be thought of as a cognitive map -- composed of a number of value types, each representing a separate group structure -- peculiar to the organization from which the P-sample was drawn.⁴⁰

The types provide information on the function or functions of the map for the group. The cognitive map guides the organization in a number of ways, as do values for the individual.⁴¹ It leads the organization to take particular positions on organizational issues. Or it may lead to an inability to take an organizational stand on an issue. It predisposes the organization to favor a particular religious, political, or organizational ideology over another. The cognitive map helps the organization to maintain an image, and to evaluate and judge itself and other organizations and/or individuals. The cognitive map, too, represents standards employed to tell which beliefs, attitudes, actions, and values of those within it are in need of changing -- the socialization function.

Sample. Although a map may be organization-specific -- that is, the product of a particular organization in a particular place at a specified time -- it is the purpose of this study to develop a map generally applicable to many daily newsroom organizations in the United States. It views the daily newspaper editorial operation in this country as an organization of the whole. However, Q-methodology is limited in that it provides no basis

for proportionally generalizing from a sample to a population.⁴² Therefore, it can only be said that the elements composing the map generated in this study exist; to what extent is unknown.

Five daily newspapers in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts cooperated; because of the transient nature of journalists it was thought that a well-chosen, structured sample would approximate a national sample of journalists. The newspapers ranged in circulation from 29,135 to 71,117. Seven persons were chosen from each: the managing, city, and wire editors; the most and least experienced reporters; and the most and least experienced photographers. The 35 persons were interviewed during winter, 1976-77. Selected demographics of the sample were compared with the same from the national sample of journalists contacted by Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman for The News People: A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and Their Work;⁴³ no significant differences were found.

It should be noted that sample size is in keeping with the usual applications of Q-methodology. Q is an instrument which has proven reliable with small nonprobability samples. As Wenner noted in his Q-study of public opinion during the Vietnam war: "Q-methodology does not call for a random sample (or for that matter a 'large' sample) to insure reliability" ⁴⁴ Schlinger, who studied with British psychologist William Stephenson at the University of Missouri, noted:

Given a sample of 200 or fewer respondents, it is possible to define and describe existing segments, but it ordinarily is not possible to estimate the size of each segment in the population.

.....

In a small Q-study, it is assumed that major attitudinal groups would be found again if the study were repeated and similar respondents were interviewed. It is always possible, of course, that additional attitudinal segments would turn up if more respondents were interviewed.⁴⁵

This is a limitation of Q. The researcher is unable to extrapolate from a set of data to the parent population with a large degree of surety. But the factors are not intended to proportionally represent the characteristics of the parent population. Generalizations from data gathered in a Q-study usually are carefully qualified. Freeman, for example, suggested that researchers use tentative language such as "'the data suggest that some XYZ's feel thus and so' when drawing conclusions."⁴⁶ Schlinger, noting this, added:

Structured samples are not intended to represent, proportionally, the characteristics of the . . . population. Instead, the structured samples are used in order to make certain that relevant subclasses of respondents are sufficiently represented even though the incidence of those sub-classes in the population may be relatively small.⁴⁷

A random sample of newsroom personnel might have led to under-representation of managing, city, and wire editors. Many Q-studies, however, rarely draw upon the sorts of more than 30 persons; small nonprobability samples are well-grounded in the theory behind the use of Q in psychological and communication research. Rozeboom provided an explanation of the theoretic rationale for Q in "Scientific Inference: The Myth and the Reality."⁴⁸

Grounded in theory, a sample structure was devised and potential volunteers contacted. The nonprobability sampling method closely followed recent sampling advances in the field of clinical psychology and psychopharmacology. Concerned about increasing the generalizability of their subject samples, medical and clinical researchers have turned to the use of "symptomatic volunteers" as research subjects.⁴⁹ These are subjects, culled from among volunteers for clinical drug studies, who share demographic and sociocultural characteristics of patients seen in private practice. An attempt was made to draw subjects with the use of the empirically devised recommendations of

Rosenthal and Rosnow.⁵⁰ In this way, the nonprobability sample approximates demographically a probability sample from the same universe and generalizability is increased.

Analysis. The data were Q factor analyzed with the computer program Quanal.⁵¹ Principal axis factoring with SMC's used as communality estimates yielded five factors which accounted for 63% of the total variance and 73% of the trace. Table 1 shows the result of an Oblimax rotation to an oblique solution. Care should be used in interpreting communality estimates for an oblique solution. Pattern and structure matrices are available upon request from the author.

Table 1 About Here

Results

There are five groupings of value self-perceptions in the daily newspaper newsroom. Table 2 summarizes the Q-analysis. The amount of emphasis placed upon each value by the type is measured in z-scores; these are standard normal scores which take into account the relative magnitude of the loadings of each person pulled together by the type. The values are offered with defining phrases as they appeared on the sort cards. The numbers to the extreme left of the table are for reference purposes; they did not appear on the cards presented to respondents for sorting.

Table 2 About Here

In addition to the sorting, demographic data were collected and analyzed. The results of that analysis appear in tables 3 and 4. Table 3 offers a

demographic profile of the 35 reporters, editors, and photographers by type; Table 4 shows the proportional standing of all types on the selected demographic variables of education, marital status, sex, and age. While the collection of demographic data is not a vital component of Q-technique, it is often helpful in the interpretation of the types, which are labeled below.⁵²

Table 3 About Here

Table 4 About Here

Type I, The Free Spirit. The Free Spirit type pulled together nine gatekeepers: two wire editors, three reporters with the least experience at their respective newspapers, a reporter with the most experience, and three daily newspaper photographers with the least experience at their dailies (see Table 1). Tables 3 and 4 show that the persons pulled together by this type are better educated (all are college graduates), younger, and less experienced than the 26 persons grouped by the other types. The Free Spirit appears to be in the beginning stages of his or her career.

The large number of values considered to be important by the Free Spirit is indicative of a generally upbeat outlook on life. Twelve values are grouped near the most important end of the Q-array of the type (the Q-array is a prototypical Q-sort indicating the views of the type rather than the individual) and achieve standard normal scores of 1.0 or more. These values are topped by the three most important: IMAGINATIVE (item 34 in Table 2), FREEDOM (item 17), and EQUALITY (19). The value on which the Free Spirit places the most importance and the other types comparatively little is A

WORLD OF BEAUTY (20). The values of which the Free Spirit scores highly suggest a dislike of rigidity and an appreciation of freedom and personal choice. The lower ranked values in the Q-array of Type I reinforce this interpretation of the positive end of the array. The three least important values are SALVATION (item 11 in Table 2), NATIONAL SECURITY (13), and POWER (40). This type seems to view work as character building. The Free Spirit enjoys newspaper work, which is personally rewarding, a job that deals with "life, the stuff of existence", as one person loading on the first type put it.⁵³

Type II, the Grim Upholder of the Social Order. This type seems to refer to an orientation based chiefly on traditional values. The Grim Upholder seems to have a more traditional perspective on the world than other types: the Type II journalist is extremely interested in religion and defense of the nation (SALVATION -- item 11 in Table 2 -- and NATIONAL SECURITY -- item 13 -- are two items on which the Grim Upholder scores are greater than all other typal z-scores). At the negative end of the array, IMAGINATIVE (34) and A WORLD OF BEAUTY (20) are two values on which the type scores are less than all other typal scores.

The six persons pulled together by the type are slightly above the sample average in age -- (as shown in Table 3) an average of 39.50 years compared with the 35-person of 38.17 years -- and are less educated (see also Table 4); age and education appear to be major sources of discontent for the persons grouped by the type (a managing editor, a city and wire editor, two reporters with the least experience at their newspapers, and a most experienced photographer -- See Table 1). As one editor said: "I haven't done what I wanted to do, but you have to live with your shortcomings.

I have to face my age and my accomplishments; you're not going to do everything and I haven't." The second type appears to be somewhat dissatisfied by his or her career, feels trapped, and is resigned to -- rather than enthusiastic about -- journalism as a career.

Type III, the Disciplined Independent. The Type III journalist appears to view work as a major element of life. This view is reflected in the Q-array of the type, which seems to refer to an orientation based chiefly on efficiency and self control (CAPABLE, RESPONSIBLE, and COURAGEOUS -- items 27, 46, and 30 -- are three of the most important values in the Q-array of the Disciplined Independent). The Disciplined Independent also is set apart from other types by a positive emphasis on authority and control over others; the value POWER (item 40 in Table 2) is the item on which the Type III score is greater than all other typical z-scores. One editor who loaded on the third type commented: "I work because I enjoy the authority and feeling that I'm doing something. Newspaper work is a challenge, a chance to prove myself."

The ten persons pulled together by the third type are above the sample average in age -- 43.40 years (see Tables 3 and 4) and are notable for the number of high-responsibility positions: the positions, as shown in Table 2, include three managing editors, two wire editors, two city editors, a reporter with the most experience at his newspaper, a photographer with the most experience, and a photographer with the least experience. None of the persons pulled together by the type seem to regard their present positions as terminal: all expressed hopes of greater power, more money, and more responsibility.

Type IV, the Responsible Hedonist. The Responsible Hedonist is concerned primarily with personal pleasure. The most important values involve enjoyment:

HAPPINESS (16 in Table 2), PLEASURE (12), FAMILY SECURITY (18), A COMFORTABLE LIFE (3), and TRUE FRIENDSHIP (23) are values on which the Type IV z-score is greater than 1.0. To the five persons (see Table 1) pulled together by the fourth type (a managing editor, a most experienced reporter, a photographer with the least experience at her daily newspaper, and two photographers with the most experience), the job provides pleasure and comfort, two primary goals in life: "I enjoy my work, but it's important only because it provides me and my family with comfort. Of course, I do my job the best I can -- I couldn't do it any other way. When you like something you work at it."

Type V, the Benevolent Moralist. Selflessness appears to be a key element in the value structure of the Benevolent Moralist, Type V. The most important values of the Benevolent Moralist are FAMILY SECURITY and MATURE LOVE (items 18 and 14 in Table 2), followed by FORGIVING (31), RESPONSIBLE (46), HONEST (33), LOVING (38), and SALVATION (11). Among the least important values of the Type V journalist are WEALTH (48), FAME (42), A COMFORTABLE LIFE (3), PLEASURE (12), and AN EXCITING LIFE (2). The Benevolent Moralist appears to be strongly committed to the guidance of others, with intensely held views about the propriety of the beliefs and actions of others both within and without the newsroom. A representative comment from one of the most experienced reporters pulled together by the type (which Table 1 shows is derived from loadings of five gatekeepers: two city editors, two reporters with the most experience, and a most experienced photographer): "People need guidance -- even reporters and editors. There are right and wrong ways, even in journalism. I don't

deliver sermons in the newsroom but I do offer advice."

Discussion

The cognitive map of the daily newspaper organization contains five elements or types: the Free Spirit, the Grim Upholder of the Social Order, the Disciplined Independent, the Responsible Hedonist, and the Benevolent Moralist. Depending upon the mixture and strength of the types present in individual newsrooms, the map has varying consequences for newsroom organization and behavior. The implications are many, however, if it is assumed that values influence behavior, especially on the job. Some evidence of this is furnished by Bowers and Franklin in a study of "American Work Values and Preferences" which showed that differences in values sometimes lead to varying forms of decision-making in the work-place.⁵⁴ That is, task performance is in part affected by values and attitudes, the latter of which is a function of the former. Argyris, building upon earlier work in the study of organizational dynamics, noted the relationship of value structures to job performance in the newsroom. He observed that the editorial worker, how is "working in a living system full of conspiracies, inconsistencies, pressures, conformity, and antagonisms" reacts to his environment in a way much dependent upon internal controls -- values.⁵⁵ In addition, Rokeach demonstrated significant relationships between values and behavior,⁵⁶ and induced behavioral change through the reordering of individual value structures.⁵⁷

Much the same relationship holds between individuals and organizations the last of which also uses values to induce behavioral change. Schein has noted that organizations exact behavioral change as the price of membership.⁵⁸

This change comes about from learning "those values, norms, and behavior patterns which, from the organization's point of view or group's point of view" is necessary for proper playing of organizational roles.⁵⁹ Like individuals, organizations have preferred goals and means of achieving those goals (which are translated into terminal and instrumental portions of the map) that must be learned by the new member; this is usually termed organizational socialization.

The cognitive map offers clues to the nature of organizational socialization. For example, what kinds of behaviors, what norms of daily newspaper gatekeepers are congruent with those of the newsroom organization? This depends upon the mixture of types. All types, however, composing the map agree on the importance of the value HONEST, which was defined on the sort cards as "sincere, truthful" (see item 33 in Table 2). In the terminology of Q, item 33 is a consensus item:⁶⁰ all types which shape the "pictures in the mind" of the daily newspaper organization emphasize the importance of honesty. As a tool for determining socialization pressures upon neophytes in the field, this particular use of the cognitive map seems valid on its face in this instance: one of the tenets of American journalism, one which is taught in every beginning news reporting and writing course and is featured in every reporting textbook, is honesty . . . don't lie, don't mislead. Other pressures also are apparent: one of the types composing the cognitive map stresses work, ambition, and emphasizes the joy of newspaper work (Type III); another emphasizes crusading, trying to tell other what is best (Type V); and still another seems to be oriented towards family and pleasure, preferring a stable, comfortable existence (Type IV). Type II is oriented towards the traditional, but in a grimly proper way; hence the

name, the Grim Upholder of the Social Order. All of those persons who loaded on the factor composing the type expressed dissatisfaction with their careers and dissatisfaction in themselves. A newsroom organization where this type is dominant would perhaps be an unhappy place to work.

The cognitive map, besides providing a basis for assessing the path of occupational socialization, may also provide researchers and organizational managers with a means of determining career patterns within organizations. Maanen notes that occupational careers are merely patterned paths of mobility, routes within particular organizations which "implies simply a sequence of activities with a natural history."⁶¹ He continued:

Thus, the organizational socialization process -- emphasizing the transfer of knowledge, abilities and motivation -- necessarily involves the creation of expectations regarding careers.⁶²

What kind of career pattern would result from the socialization process outlined in the cognitive map of the daily newspaper newsroom to lead? A tentative explanation follows.

Four of the five types tended to pull together persons advanced in their careers and ages (see Tables 3 and 4). One, the first, tended to pull together relatively less experienced and younger journalists. The five types appear to divide between the younger, less experienced gatekeepers and the older, more experienced journalists. The Free Spirit, Type I may be a stage of personality and value development that most, if not all of those entering the field of daily newspaper journalism, experience.

The beginning journalist is young and relatively restless; he or she may begin a career with little expectation of large monetary reward -- many of those pulled together by the first type expressed disinterest in comfort or money and money -- but with hopes of stimulation and excitement. Daily

journalism represents a "new frontier." This, perhaps, is illustrated by the following comments elicited from two of those pulled together by the first type:

"It's so exciting, my job -- it's the best way to work without really having a job."

"I haven't gotten around to growing up. When I do I'll try something else."

The search for identity and direction is a major theme of this stage of development. The young Free Spirit appears to be a rootless person ("I don't know what I want" was a common refrain during interviews) who is attracted by the peculiar rootlessness of journalism ("Everyone knows they're not going to stay here and nobody wants to" was the way one Type I reporter with the least experience put it). The first type of journalist remains a Free Spirit only as long as it takes to "find myself," as another reporter commented.

But the Free Spirit matures, and other elements begin to dominate the value structure. FAMILY SECURITY (item 18 in Table 2) is no longer unimportant as the young journalist ages, marries, and, perhaps, considers a family (the arrays of types II, III, IV, and V exhibit highly positive ratings for the value item). Stability may seem desirable. Should the Free Spirit remain in journalism? A decision must be made.

Figure 2 models this process. The Free Spirit may leave daily newspaper journalism or remain in the newsroom. If he or she remains it is no longer practical -- given changing age and circumstances resulting from growth -- to approach life as a Free Spirit. A reordering of personal values takes place; other themes, once submissive to the Free Spirit value structure, come to the

fore. The first type in the model evolves into Type II, or types III, IV, or V. The types within the box pictured in Figure 2 are more experienced

Figure 2 About Here

journalists; the Free Spirit, shown at the top of the figure, is a less experienced or inexperienced journalist.

The model types have different consequences for newsroom organization and individual journalists. Type II, the Grim Upholder of the Social Order, appears to be the most negative in outlook. The Grim Upholder appears to shoulder responsibility with reluctance, and prefers to avoid decisions. The managing editor who grouped into the second type said, "Every time you decide something you risk being second-guessed." As Barrow noted, hesitancy and risk-avoidance are not among the variables of leadership.⁶³

The Responsible Hedonist, however, appears to be pleased with the immediate world. Journalism affords the fourth type of journalist a chance to enjoy life by providing work of interest and a comfortable wage. It is reasonable to suppose that a newsroom predominantly composed of fourth factor types is a pleasant environment; this type may contribute substantially to job satisfaction in the newsroom. In other words, the fourth type may contribute to organizational integration which, as Doktor and Moses pointed out, "is the key to successful performance in organizational management."⁶⁴

The Disciplined Independent is the managerial type. The Free Spirit matures, becomes career-oriented, and decides that achievement and power are desirable goals. He prizes efficiency and responsibility, and often appears to be maximizing his problem-solving abilities. The third type evolved in this study is analogous to the "Sponsor" stage of the professional career model

described by Dalton, Thompson, and Price.⁶⁵ The sponsor is the fourth and final career stage for persons involved in organizations; the stage demands a high degree of maturity and job-consciousness.⁶⁶

The Benevolent Moralist, on the other hand, seems to care little for creative problem-solving. He sometimes appears to be condescending -- several associates of persons grouped by the fifth factor reported friction between the fifth type individual and peers in the newsroom, complaining that these persons tended to view circumstances and issues in absolutes: right or wrong, correct or incorrect, true or false. Conflict may result from a newsroom managed or populated by Type V journalists.

Does the Free Spirit represent the first stage of journalism for those entering the field? Does growth lead to the other value structures, which represent later stages? Perhaps -- career theory often points to a beginning stage in many careers in organizations.⁶⁷ Much of the salient work of psychologists and sociologists points to this in this direction.⁶⁸ In addition, existing career models used by organizational psychologists and researchers have been replaced in many instances by one involving career stages.⁶⁹

Suggestions for Further Research

The types generated by this study seem to point to new approaches to the study of daily newspaper gatekeeping and the staffing of daily newspaper editorial rooms. In addition, the cognitive map, as a guide to the socialization patterns of professional organizations, seems to be of some value. Some questions and areas to which further research might be addressed include:

1. Is it possible to generate cognitive maps of other professionalized organizations? What are the consequences? What, for example, would result from the cognitive mapping of the law division of a large insurance company? Or the newsroom of a metropolitan television station? How would these maps compare to each other? How would they differ? Can the cognitive map be validated?

2. Is the model shown in Figure 2 substantially correct? What are its implications? What are the ramifications for newsroom hiring of a model which seems to indicate that persons entering the field of daily newspaper journalism are similar in value structure and goals? Perhaps it is best to maintain a stable of positions that are uniquely suited to the personality of the Free Spirit, allowing for frequent turnover while identifying the various character types. The Grim Upholders of the Social Order, perhaps, should be encouraged to leave the newspaper; the Benevolent Moralists might be confined to positions of less responsibility in which their approach to problems would be less likely to alienate others in the newsroom. A harmonious newsroom operation might result from increasing the number of Responsible Hedonists on the staff -- should the Type IV journalist form the core of the newsroom? And, is it desirable to increase the number of Disciplined Independents on the staff? A few journalists of the third type might provide a competitive edge within the newsroom and insure innovation; too many might cause dissatisfaction.

3. The notion of cognitive mapping might be applied to individual newsroom organizations. The newsrooms of competing newspapers in the same cities may be mapped, and the results compared. And there may, someday, be developed a

method of showing the relationship between the cognitive map and the organizational product -- in this instance, newspapers -- much in the way Rokeach demonstrated significant relations between values and behavior.

FOOTNOTES

¹Wilbur Schramm, Men, Messages, and Media: A Look at Human Communication (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 194.

²Milton Rokeach, The Nature of Human Values (New York: Free Press, 1973), pp. 12-17.

³Ronald L. Smith, Gary M. Richetto, and Joseph P. Zima, "Organizational Behavior: An Approach to Human Communication" in R. W. Budd and B. D. Ruben (eds.) Approaches to Human Communication (Rochelle Park, N.J.: Hayden, 1972), pp. 269-270.

⁴Chester Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 9.

⁵Benjamin Schneider, Staffing Organizations (Pacific Palisades, California: Goodyear, 1976), p.

⁶Gary M. Richetto, "Organizational Communication Theory and Research: An Overview," in B. D. Ruben (Ed.) Communication Yearbook I (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1977), pp. 331-346.

⁷A. Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: Free Press, 1961).

⁸T. Caplow, Principles of Organization (Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1964).

⁹This involves usually the sentiments people have about their work. To the professional work may be viewed as a "calling," and approached with what one sociologist called "a quasi-religious sense of mission." See Ronald M. Ravalko, Sociology of Occupations and Professions (Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peack, 1971), pp. 23-24, 80-109.

¹⁰Mark Abrahamson (ed.), The Professional in the Organization (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), p. 8.

¹¹See Abrahamson, above.

¹²John Hohenberg, The Professional Journalist: A Guide to the Practice and Principles of the News Media (3rd. ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973); John L. Hulteng, The Messenger's Motives: Ethical Problems of the Media (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976); and John C. Merrill, The Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy (New York: Hastings House, 1974).

¹³Chris Argyris, Behind the Front Page: Organizational Self-Renewal in a Metropolitan Newspaper (San Francisco, Cal.: Jossey-Bass, 1974), p. 2.

¹⁴Rodney W. Stark, "Policy and the Pros: An Organizational Analysis of a Metropolitan Newspaper," Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 7:11-30, Spring, 1962.

¹⁵David L. Altheide and Paul K. Rasmussen, "Becoming News: A Study of Two Newsrooms," Sociology of Work and Occupations, 3:223-256, May, 1976.

¹⁶Altheide and Rasmussen, p. 244.

¹⁷Warren Breed, "Social Control in the News Room," in W. Schramm Mass Communications (2nd ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 181-182.

¹⁸Warren Breed, "Social Control," p. 182.

¹⁹G. Harries-Jenkins, "Professionals in Organizations," in M. Abrahamson (ed.) The Professional in the Organization, p. 79.

²⁰Merrill Samuelson, "A Standardized Test to Measure Job Satisfaction in the Newsroom," Journalism Quarterly, 39:289, Summer, 1962.

²¹Stark, "Policy and the Pros," p. 30.

²²John W. C. Johnstone, Edward J. Slawski, and William W. Bowman, The News People: A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and Their Work, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), pp. 113-156, 181-188.

²³Erwin P. Bettinghaus and Ivan L. Preston, "Dogmatism and Performance of the Communicator Under Cognitive Stress," Journalism Quarterly, 41:399-402, Summer, 1964.

²⁴Stuart H. Schwartz, "Inner-Directed and Other-Directed Values of Journalists," Journalism Quarterly, In Press.

²⁵John A. Clausen (ed.) Socialization and Society (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), pp. 1-17.

²⁶Gene W. Dalton, Paul H. Thompson, and Raymond L. Price, "The Four Stages of Professional Careers - A New Look at Performance by Professionals," Organizational Dynamics, 6:19-42, Summer, 1977.

²⁷T. Caplow, Principles of Organization, p. 169.

²⁸Caplow, Principles of Organization.

²⁹Robert Dubin (ed.), Handbook of Work, Organization, and Society (Chicago: Rand McNally, pp. 67-130.

³⁰William Stephenson, The Study of Behavior: Q-Technique and Its Methodology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

³¹Fred N. Kerlinger, "Q Methodology in Behavioral Research," in S. R. Brown and D. J. Brenner Science, Psychology, and Communication: Essays Honoring William Stephenson (New York: Teachers College Press, 1972), p. 32.

³²Philip Elliot, The Sociology of the Professions (London: Macmillian, 1972), p. 140.

³³Morris Rosenberg, Occupations and Values (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957), p. 31.

³⁴David L. Grey, "Use of Ideal Types in Newsmen Studies," Journalism Quarterly, 44:13, Spring, 1967.

³⁵Milton Rokeach, The Nature of Human Values (New York: The Free Press, 1973, p. 5.

³⁶Rokeach, p. 7.

³⁷Rokeach, p. 12.

³⁸Rokeach, pp. 357-361.

³⁹Generally, Q-samples should not be less than 50 items for sorting or ordering by subjects (see the discussion of the methodology in Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (2nd ed.) Hold, Rinehart and Winston, 1973, pp. 582-600); the Q-sample is defined and explained in William Stephenson, The Play Theory of Mass Communication (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1967). pp. 14-17.

⁴⁰Stephenson, Play Theory, pp. 20-22.

⁴¹Rokeach, pp. 12-17.

⁴²Mary J. Schlinger, "Cues on Q-Technique," Journal of Advertising Research, 9:54, September, 1969.

⁴³John W. C. Johnstone, Edward J. Slawski, William W. Bowman, The News People: A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and Their Work (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976); See Appendix A.

⁴⁴Lawrence Wenner, "Functional Analysis of TV Viewing for Older Adults," Journal of Broadcasting, 20:80, Winter, 1976.

⁴⁵Mary J. Schlinger, "Cues on Q-Technique," Journal of Advertising Research, 9:54, September, 1969.

⁴⁶Leonard Freeman, "Q-Method 20 Years Later: Its Uses and Abuses in Communications Research" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism, San Diego, 1974), p. 35.

⁴⁷Schlinger, "Cues on Q-Technique," p. 55.

⁴⁸William W. Rozeboom, "Scientific Inference: The Myth and the Reality," Science, Psychology, and Communication: Essays Honoring William Stephenson, eds. S. R. Borwn and D. J. Brenner (New York: Teachers College Press, 1972), pp. 95-118.

⁴⁹Ralph L. Rosnow and Robert Rosenthal, "The Volunteer Subject Revisited," Australian Journal of Psychology, 28:102, 1976.

⁵⁰Robert Rosenthal and Ralph L. Rosnow, The Volunteer Subject (New York: Wiley, 1975).

⁵¹Available from G. Norman Van Tubergen at the University of Kentucky, Department of Telecommunications. The program was specifically developed for use with Q.

⁵²As Schlinger (see above, p. 59) noted: "data from respondent interviews are useful both to broaden and to affirm the interpretation of the factors."

⁵³Comments gathered during the interview phase are used in the same way as demographic variables. But the researcher is not limited to the comments gathered during questioning about the Q-sorts. Schlinger (p. 59) said: "In attempting to understand the meaning of the factors, the analyst does not have to take what the respondents say at face value. Examination of the factor arrays and interviews may indicate that certain defense mechanisms are operating that should be taken into account in explaining the factors. One advantage of Q-methodology is that it yields the kind of comprehensive, in-context data about respondents that lead to such insights."

⁵⁴David G. Bowers and J. L. Franklin, "American Work Values and Preferences," University of Michigan Business Review, 29:14-22, March, 1977.

⁵⁵Argyris, Behind the Front Page, p. 54.

⁵⁶Rokeach, Human Values, pp. 122-162.

⁵⁷Rokeach, pp. 272-312.

⁵⁸Edgar H. Schein, "Organizational Socialization and the Profession of Management," Industrial Management Review, 9:1-16, Winter, 1968.

⁵⁹Schein, p. 3.

⁶⁰A consensus item is an item on which the standard normal scores of all types or factors are within 1.000 of each other.

⁶¹John Van Maanen, "Breaking In: Socialization to Work," in R. Dubin (ed.) Handbook of Work, Organization, and Society, p. 76.

⁶²Van Maanen, p. 77.

⁶³J. C. Barrow, "Variables of Leadership: A Review and Conceptual Framework," Academy of Management Review, 2:321-245, April, 1977.

⁶⁴Robert H. Doktor and Michael A. Moses (eds.), Managerial Insights -- Analysis, Decisions, and Implementation (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1973, p. 6.

⁶⁵Dalton, Thompson, and Price, pp. 20-22.

⁶⁶Dalton, Thompson, and Price, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁷Douglas T. Hall, Careers in Organizations (New York: Goodyear Publishing Company, 1976).

⁶⁸A. Zaleznik, Gener W. Dalton, and L. Barnes, Orientation and Conflict in Careers (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 431-466.

⁶⁹Dalton, Thompson, and Price, pp. 20-22.

FIGURE 1

Frequency Distribution for the Forced Q-Sort of 50
Value Items by 35 Daily Newspaper Reporters,
Editors, and Photographers from New York,
Connecticut and Massachusetts

Least Important								Most Important			
12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

pile number

number in pile (frequency)

1	2	3	5	6	8	8	6	5	3	2	1
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TABLE 1

Rotated Factor Loadings Derived from the Factor Analysis
of 35 Sets of Q-Sorts of 50 Defined Values

Type	Variable Identification ¹	Types					Communality Value
		I	II	III	IV	V	
I	REL 1	0.645	-0.005	-0.023	-0.031	-0.089	0.425
	REL 2	0.556	0.009	-0.060	0.098	-0.074	0.327
	REL 3	0.521	-0.071	-0.146	0.075	0.058	0.307
	PHL 2	0.592	-0.006	-0.003	0.031	-0.231	0.405
	WE 1	0.750	-0.018	-0.340	-0.002	0.124	0.694
	PHL 3	0.402	-0.010	0.001	0.225	-0.182	0.245
	PHL 5	0.529	-0.157	0.058	-0.287	0.318	0.492
	WE 3	0.414	-0.381	-0.008	0.034	0.045	0.320
	REM 4	0.299	0.237	0.075	-0.031	0.259	0.219
II	CIE 5	-0.063	0.659	-0.125	0.146	0.136	0.493
	ME 1	-0.022	0.594	0.185	-0.198	0.066	0.431
	PHM 5	-0.034	0.549	-0.242	0.143	0.199	0.421
	WE 5	0.149	0.466	-0.105	-0.089	0.302	0.350
	REL 5	0.278	0.312	0.210	-0.049	0.039	0.223
	REL 4	0.169	0.380	-0.169	0.220	0.317	0.351
III	WE 2	-0.124	-0.003	0.638	-0.010	-0.032	0.423
	CIE 1	0.055	0.012	0.554	0.012	-0.245	0.370
	ME 4	-0.162	-0.163	0.806	-0.344	0.107	0.832
	ME 2	0.181	-0.111	0.403	-0.048	-0.122	0.225
	PHL 4	0.021	0.238	0.428	0.095	-0.167	0.278
	PHM 4	-0.295	-0.023	0.516	0.224	-0.216	0.450
	CIE 2	-0.191	-0.197	0.558	-0.117	0.359	0.529

TABLE 1 (continued)

Type	Variable Identification ¹	Types					Communality Value
		I	II	III	IV	V	
III	ME 3	0.167	-0.016	0.307	-0.033	0.257	0.190
	WE 4	-0.174	0.188	0.365	0.137	0.265	0.288
	REM 5	0.184	0.266	0.273	0.041	-0.156	0.205
IV	PHM 2	0.018	-0.056	-0.103	0.697	-0.193	0.537
	PHM 3	-0.007	-0.129	-0.006	0.420	0.159	0.218
	ME 5	-0.012	0.253	-0.080	0.534	0.016	0.356
	PHL 1	0.247	-0.033	-0.229	0.575	-0.116	0.458
	REM 3	-0.210	0.528	-0.204	0.579	-0.036	0.702
	REM 2	-0.015	0.076	-0.021	-0.084	0.704	0.510
V	REM 1	0.084	0.322	-0.032	-0.261	0.625	0.570
	CIE 3	0.023	-0.030	0.322	0.067	0.346	0.229
	CIE 4	-0.245	0.095	0.164	0.382	0.444	0.439
	PHM 1	0.242	-0.351	0.121	0.206	0.326	0.345
Total Variance	Per Factor	0.0935	0.0751	0.0911	0.0682	0.0681	0.3959
	Cumulative	0.0935	0.1685	0.2596	0.3278	0.3959	
Common Variance	Per Factor	0.2361	0.1896	0.2300	0.1724	0.1719	1.0000
	Cumulative	0.2361	0.4257	0.6557	0.8281	1.0000	

¹The numerals mark the newspapers — those gatekeepers with the same numerals come from the same newspapers, which were promised anonymity. ME represents a managing editor; WE a wire editor; CIE is a city editor; REL is a least experienced reporter; REM is a most experienced reporter; PHL photographer least experienced; and PHM, a photographer with the most experience.

Table 2

Q-Arrays in Z-Scores of the Five Types

Value Items	Typal Z-Scores ₁				
	I	II	III	IV	V
1. FRIENDLINESS . . . sociability, amiability	0.1	-0.5	-0.3	-0.2	-0.2
2. AN EXCITING LIFE . . . a stimulating, active life	0.6	-0.9	-0.2	1.3	-1.1
3. A COMFORTABLE LIFE . . . a prosperous life	-1.2	-0.7	-0.7	1.1	-1.5
4. SKEPTICAL . . . doubting, questioning	0.0	-1.4	0.6	-1.6	0.0
5. PRACTICAL . . . realistic, pragmatic	-0.7	-0.5	1.2	0.0	0.7
6. LOYAL . . . faithful	-0.6	-0.1	0.2	0.5	-0.1
7. SERENITY . . . tranquility, clamness	-0.5	-1.1	-0.5	-1.0	0.2
8. KIND . . . gentle, tender-hearted	0.2	0.1	-1.1	0.7	0.9
9. SOCIAL RECOGNITION . . . respect, admiration	-0.3	-1.1	-1.0	0.4	-1.7
10. SELF-RESPECT . . . self-esteem	1.0	1.7	1.0	1.0	0.6
11. SALVATION . . . saved, eternal life	-2.3	2.1	-2.6	-2.7	1.0
12. PLEASURE . . . an enjoyable, leisurely life	-0.3	-0.9	-1.4	1.6	-1.4
13. NATIONAL SECURITY . . . protection from attack	-2.1	0.3	-1.6	-1.5	-1.2
14. MATURE LOVE . . . sexual and spiritual intimacy	1.2	-0.3	-0.8	0.7	1.5
15. INNER HARMONY . . . freedom from inner conflict	1.2	0.4	-0.4	0.8	0.7
16. HAPPINESS . . . contentedness	1.1	0.7	-0.2	2.6	0.4

Table 2 (continued)

Value Items	Typal Z-Scores ₁				
	I	II	III	IV	V
17. FREEDOM . . . independence, free choice	1.4	0.6	0.4	-0.6	0.2
18. FAMILY SECURITY . . . taking care of loved ones	-0.4	1.9	0.8	1.4	2.1
19. EQUALITY . . . equal opportunity for all, brotherhood	1.3	0.5	-0.7	-0.8	-0.8
20. A WORLD OF BEAUTY . . . beauty of nature and the arts	0.9	-1.2	-0.2	-1.1	-0.3
21. A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT . . . lasting contribution	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.6	-1.3
22. A WORLD AT PEACE . . . free of war and conflict	0.2	1.3	-1.1	-0.7	-1.0
23. TRUE FRIENDSHIP . . . close companionship	0.7	-0.1	-0.8	1.0	-0.2
24. WISDOM . . . a mature understanding of life	1.1	0.4	0.7	-0.5	0.5
25. AMBITIOUS . . . aspiring, hard-working	-0.3	-0.1	1.2	0.9	-0.8
26. BROADMINDED . . . open-minded	0.5	0.1	0.9	-0.7	0.4
27. CAPABLE . . . competent, effective	0.6	0.7	2.0	0.1	0.7
28. CHEERFUL . . . lighthearted, jovial	-0.0	-0.8	-0.3	-0.3	-0.5
29. CLEAN . . . neat, tidy	-1.5	-0.3	-0.2	0.6	-0.1
30. COURAGEOUS . . . standing up for your own beliefs	1.1	1.1	1.5	0.1	0.6
31. FORGIVING . . . willing to pardon others	-0.4	0.5	-0.5	-0.2	1.3
32. HELPFUL . . . working for the welfare of others	-0.1	0.3	-1.2	-0.0	0.6
33. HONEST . . . sincere, truthful	1.0	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.2
34. IMAGINATIVE . . . daring, creative	1.5	00.4	1.0	0.4	0.1

Table 2 (continued)

Value Items	I	II	III	IV	V
35. INDEPENDENT . . . self-reliant, self-sufficient	1.2	0.4	1.3	-0.2	-0.4
36. INTELLECTUAL . . . intelligent, reflective	0.5	0.1	0.7	-0.2	-0.9
37. LOGICAL . . . consistent, rational	-1.0	0.0	1.1	0.1	0.7
38. LOVING . . . tender, affectionate	0.1	0.2	-0.7	0.7	1.2
39. OBEDIENT . . . dutiful, respectful	-1.4	-0.8	-0.4	-0.3	0.2
40. POWER . . . authority, ability to control others	-2.0	-2.0	0.7	-1.9	-2.1
41. KNOWLEDGE . . . learning, mental cultivation	0.7	0.7	0.7	-0.3	-0.0
42. FAME . . . well-known, talked about	-1.3	-2.4	-1.3	-1.1	-2.2
43. SELFLESS . . . self-denying, sacrificing	-0.5	-0.7	-1.0	-1.1	0.5
44. SYMPATHETIC . . . pity, compassion for others	0.3	-0.0	0.1	-0.4	0.8
45. ALTRUISTIC . . . unselfish, philanthropic	-0.4	-1.0	-0.7	-1.1	-0.0
46. RESPONSIBLE . . . reliable, dependable	-0.0	0.6	1.7	1.1	1.2
47. POLITE . . . well-mannered	-0.9	0.3	0.3	0.2	-0.0
48. WEALTH . . . riches, great worldly possessions	-1.9	-2.4	-1.6	-1.5	-2.5
49. SELF-CONTROLLED . . . restrained, self-disciplined	-0.6	0.4	1.0	0.1	0.7
50. AN ETHICAL LIFE . . . a moral, principled life	0.8	1.7	0.1	0.8	0.9

¹Figures are rounded by computer to the nearest tenth.

TABLE 3

Summary of Data for the Demographic Profiles.

Type	Mean Years in Journalism	Mean Years in Position ¹	Mean Years of Education ²	Mean Age	Journalism ³ Coursework?		Married?		Sex	
					Yes	No	Yes	No	Male	Female
I	8.44	3.20	8.11	32.33	3	6	3	6	5	4
II	15.03	8.70	7.00	39.50	0	6	5	1	6	0
III	20.60	10.25	7.25	43.40	3	7	10	0	10	0
IV	15.40	9.80	7.40	38.80	2	3	4	2	4	1
V	11.40	7.50	7.00	36.00	2	3	5	0	5	0

¹Time in present position refers to length of time respondents held the position for which they were interviewed at the time of the study.

²Years of education includes all formal schooling past grade school and junior high. A person with four years of schooling, then, has received a high school diploma; eight years indicates a college graduate; nine years a person with a college diploma and some graduate education; a master's degree involves ten years of post-junior high school training.

³Journalism coursework includes any journalism courses taken during college whether or not the respondent was a journalism major or minor.

TABLE 4

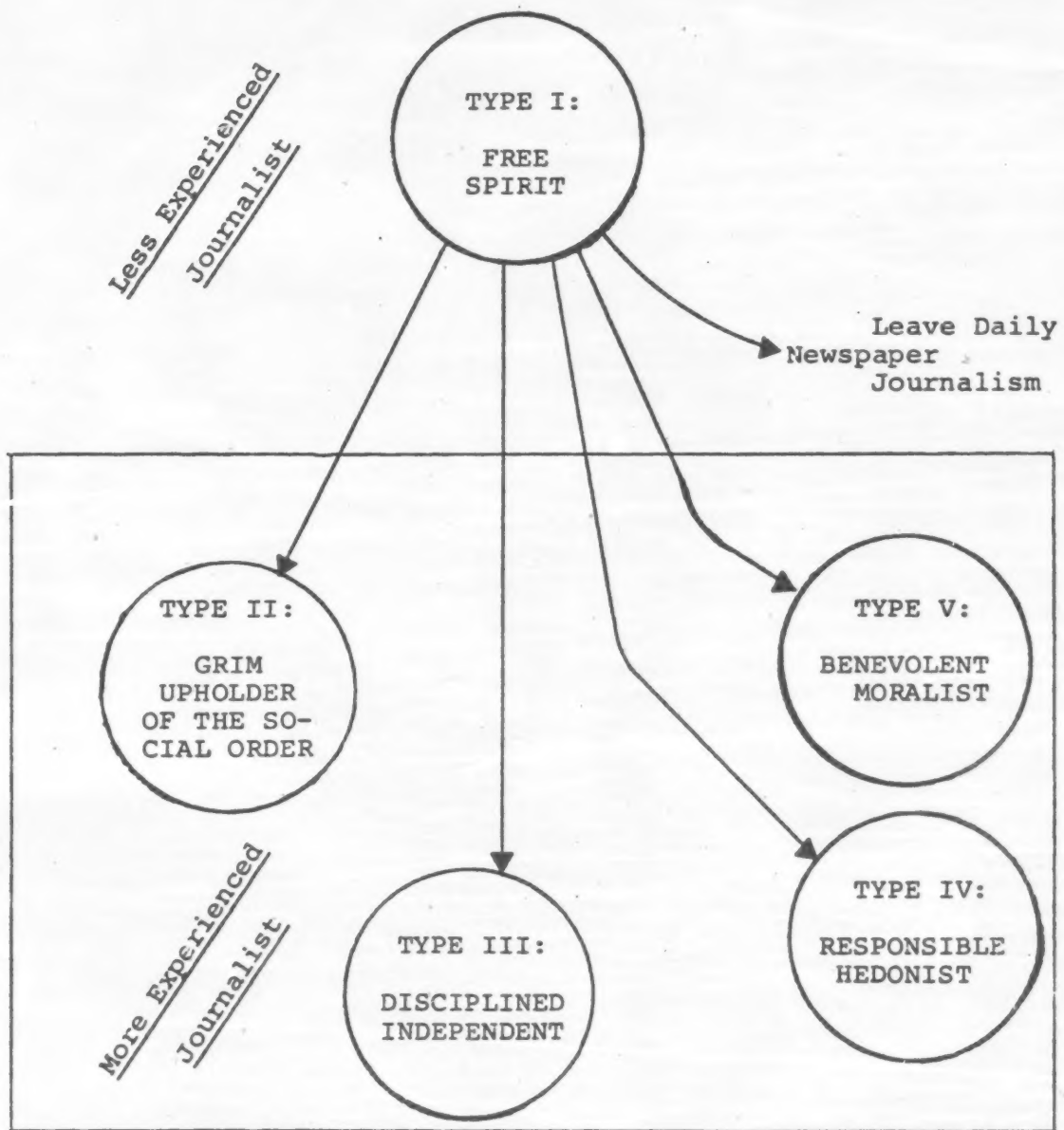
The Proportional Standing of All Types on the Selected Demographic Variables of Education, Marital Status, Sex, and Age¹

Demographic Variables	Proportion of 1.00					All Respondents
	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type V	
College Graduate	1.00	.50	.70	.80	.40	.71
Some College Journalism Coursework	.33	.00	.30	.40	.40	.29
Female	.44	.00	.00	.20	.00	.14
Married	.33	.83	1.00	.80	1.00	.74
Thirty-five Years of Age and Under	.78	.33	.20	.40	.60	.46
N	9	6	10	5	5	35

¹All figures are rounded to two places to the right of the decimal point.

FIGURE 2

Model of the Changing Value Structure of the Daily Newspaper Gatekeeper from Entrance into the News Room to Emergence as an Experienced Reporter, Editor, and/or Photographer, or Entrance Into Non-Daily Journalism and/or Another Occupation



Appendix A

A Comparison of Selected Demographic Variables of the
Nonprobability Q-Sample of 35 Daily Newspaper
Reporters, Editors, and Photographers from
New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts
With the National Probability Sample
of Daily Newspaper Journalists of
Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman

Demographic Variables	Proportion of 1.00	
	Q	National
Less than 30 years	.31	.33
30 to 54 years of age	.54	.53
55 and more years	.11	.13
College graduates	.71	.63
Female	.14	.20

ANOVA: $F = 0.000178$; $df = 8,1$; $p < .05$